



# NO TIME TO BLINK

**VERY HIGH ALTITUDE NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS BLINDED RABBITS UP TO 300 MILES AWAY LAST YEAR, THE US ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION HAS DISCLOSED.**

## PN and the printing dispute

Should the printing dispute prevent the normal production of Peace News next week a duplicated information bulletin will be issued and should be available from your usual supplier. Voluntary helpers to assist in the preparation and dispatch of these bulletins will be urgently needed on Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays between 9.30 a.m. and 9.30 p.m. at our offices at 3 Blackstock Road, N.4 (close to Finsbury Park Station).

Readers failing to receive copies from their usual source of supply should inform us at the above address, sending a foolscap or larger addressed envelope (stamped 2d.) and enclose 6d. for each copy required. Copies will then be sent by return of post.

Organisers of events are urged to send in details eight or more days before publication date if possible.

The rabbits had no time to blink, the AEC explained. The explosions—at over 100,000 ft.—were particularly damaging to the eyes “because of the rapid rate of the power pulse.”

In plain language this meant that the fireball of the explosions measured 11 miles across within three-tenths of a second. In three and a half seconds the diameter reached 18 miles.

“Nearly all of the radiant exposure from a very high altitude burst,” the AEC disclosed, “is received by the retina before the eye can be protected by blinking.”

The rabbit has a “blink-reflex” time of just over a quarter of a second. That of a man is less than a quarter of a second, the AEC pointed out.

The Commission's announcement was made jointly with the Defence Department on June 15. It was based on results discovered in last year's “Operation Hardtack” nuclear tests in the Pacific.

It was also disclosed last week—by two Japanese scientists—that Hiroshima today has more cancer patients and a higher cancer death rate than anywhere else in Japan.

The scientists reported this on June 14 in a study of the relation between atom bomb radiation and cancer.

Among people living within one kilometre of the centre of the bomb blast at Hiroshima, the cancer rate nearly 14 years after the devastation is now over four and a half times greater than among persons who did not experience the bombing.

The incidence of leukaemia is also particularly high in Hiroshima, the scientists stated.

## East Germany: A peep behind the propaganda

Heinz Kraschutzki is a veteran German pacifist. In 1932, when he was an editor of a German pacifist weekly, he was indicted before the German Supreme Court for publishing news about Germany's secret rearmament. He escaped to Spain and continued to write and publish articles attacking the set-up in Germany. In 1936 the Nazi consul in Spain persuaded the Fascist authorities to arrest him, and he was sentenced to 30 years imprisonment. He was released in 1945 and returned to Germany. There he became a lecturer in history at a teachers academy in Potsdam, but was dismissed from his post in 1948 by the Russians for his heretical views on Marxism. He has recently retired from social work in a boys prison in Berlin.

**WHAT** is the real situation in East Germany? The fact is: I know only a little, but that is a good deal more than those who are busy with cold-war propaganda.

If they were right 99 per cent of the East German people would have no other desire than to be “liberated” as soon as possible by the West and to be integrated into the Bonn republic under Dr. Konrad Adenauer. This is not so.

It is not even true that all those who rose against the Government on June 17, 1953, would have been willing to join the Adenauer régime. On inter-zonal trains leaving the East for the West railwaymen at Magdeburg wrote slogans to the effect: “Let us get rid of Ulbricht here, and you of Adenauer there!”

Meanwhile many things have changed. The fact that the Russians acted in a very moderate way at that time, let their tanks at Potsdamer Platz be stoned by youngsters (many of whom had come from West Berlin) without firing back into the crowd, won them sympathy. This was not reported to the public in Western countries.

The food situation has improved considerably; there is no hunger any longer and complaints in this respect are only that the variety of things one can buy is not yet as wide as in the West.

### THE REFUGEES—A TWO-WAY TRAFFIC

**LET** us ignore the propaganda and look at the facts.

Last August the Bonn Government suggested that there was a “tremendous increase” in refugees from the East. But the Ministry for Refugees, Bonn, had to admit the facts. While in August, 1957, there had been 26,000, in August, 1958, there were only 21,000. Not a “tremendous increase”! But such statistics never consider those who are going West-East. They were given (by the East Germans) to be about 6,000 per month, so that the real surplus of refugees East-West over those West-East was only 15,000.

Meanwhile we have had months with not more than 10,000 migrants East-West, while the number of such West-East has remained at about 6,000 per month. This would

### By Heinz Kraschutzki

mean that the surplus is only 4,000 now—a rather insignificant number.

One has to consider that these are not all real refugees. In a country where families are split up, it often happens they try to come together. Only 3 per cent of those going East-West are officially registered as “political refugees.” Most of the others go West because wages are a little higher and life more comfortable. I don't blame them for that, but they do not fit cold-war propaganda.

The East insists that recently the number of young people going West-East has increased considerably, owing in part to the fact that there is conscription in West Germany and not in the East, in part because many miners are now without jobs in the Ruhr district. There are no jobless in East Germany.

### WHO REALLY WANTS UNIFICATION?

**THE** desire for unification of the country is probably stronger in the East than in the West. But many people don't want unification without certain guarantees. Those who simply want Adenauer to take over are certainly in a minority.

There is the schooling system. Teachers in West Germany have protested strongly for years that the schools are being neglected in the Federal Republic. It is not only that the building of new schools for a growing population is insufficient, but that military barracks are being given preference. Even more important is the fact that, in the East, the parents of every really talented child can be sure that it will be given a chance to receive higher education; parents' income is quite irrelevant, as 90 per cent of the university students get scholarships.

But is not Communist propaganda in the schools of the East dangerous, and considered as such by many parents? I think this is true, though it is often exaggerated in the West.

But the schools in the West are in no way free from propaganda. Quite recently I heard a boy of 16 saying: “And as we all know the Russians would attack us immediately if we had no atomic weapons, I think it is good we have them.” He took it absolutely for granted that nobody could doubt Russian aggressiveness. Was that his own reasoning or did it only reflect what he had been told in school?

### AT LEAST THERE IS NO CONSCRIPTION

**IF** there were a better alternative to the Ulbricht regime in the East than the Adenauer régime in the West, things would perhaps look different.

There is little propaganda for militarism in East Germany. There is a sort of military preparation in the form of shooting practice in certain youth organisations. Of course, as there is no conscription, there is propaganda among the young generation to join the army.

But my impression is that people in general—not to speak of Cold War fanatics who certainly exist in the East—really believe their army is a defensive one, as it is greatly inferior to the West German Army in numbers and equipment.

### ODER-NEISSE LINE: A SACRIFICE FOR PEACE

**EAST** GERMANY has accepted officially the actual frontier as definite, while the Bonn government still maintains its claim that the Eastern Provinces should be returned to Germany. (People who know something of the inner situation in Bonn say that the government is fully convinced that these provinces are lost, but maintains the claim for bargaining purposes.)

A friend of mine, a professor, living in East Germany and a member of the Communist Party, said to me: “Don't think it was easy for us to relinquish all hope of recovering those provinces. There are many living among us who consider them their homeland. But we thought we had to do it. It was a sacrifice for the matter of peace, please recognise that! Now, instead, we have good neighbourly relations with Poland. This is also worth something.”

### LAND REFORM THAT HELPED THE PEOPLE

**IT** is my full conviction that the overwhelming majority of the East German population supports the taking over of the big estates of the former Junker class, which have been handed over to small-holders (with the exception of some few

which are under the management of the State for special purposes).

The best propaganda Herr Ulbricht has against the desire to integrate East Germany with West Germany is the fear of the old Junker landlords coming back. Of course, people in the cities are less interested in this question than the countryfolk. But the disastrous political influence of the Junker class is not yet forgotten.

### FEAR THAT HITLER WILL MARCH AGAIN

**A**DENAUER once admitted that over 60 per cent of the higher officers of the Bonn administration had served under Hitler. This is in no way attractive to all those who have suffered under Hitler or who have realised that the Hitler way was wrong and led to disaster. There are very few former Nazis who have risen to higher positions in East Germany. The civil service system is not like the West German—where officers of the administration are appointed for life—but more like that of the USA, i.e., any officer may be dismissed at any time. This makes not only corruption difficult and risky, but also makes it impossible for former Hitlerites to make their influence effective behind the scenes.

If the alternative were, as Western propaganda has it: “Slavery in the East—Freedom in the West,” people would certainly choose freedom. But there is less slavery in the East and less freedom in the West than people think. The difference is not fundamental, but a matter of degree. For many a man the alternative is a certain pressure from the Communist side here, a certain pressure from the Nazi side there. Which a man will prefer depends upon his personal taste and sometimes his record.

### ATOM BOMB RATTLING—NOT ATTRACTIVE

**N**UCLEAR weapons are a very important issue. People have the impression that the Russians want peace and that the West is always using threats. I was present when a man told some American visitors: “I am from Darmstadt. When I visit my parents, we can see the long-range atomic guns set up there, directed towards the East, where I am living. You think my parents and myself like it.” The fact that West Germany is armed to the teeth with modern atomic weapons, while there are no such bases in East Germany makes West Germany unattractive.

Quite recently I saw a woman in East Berlin, whom I know had always longed to be in the West. But this time she said: “With that sabre-rattling over there, I think it better that I should stay where I am.”



# ND AND THE ARTIST

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ONE of the strengths of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is the active support given to it by artists, and, indeed, by creative workers of all kinds. Too often mass campaigns have fallen into the hands of politicians and propagandists who, however dedicated, are out of touch with basic realities; who lack also the magic spark that can ignite a manifesto and set off a chain reaction through the national consciousness.

The first Aldermaston march had this kind of magic; so had its symbol, the semaphore ND "lollipop," which caught the public imagination with extraordinary effect. Artists deal in symbols more than most people, and perhaps that is why they support the campaign, not as an alternative to pacifism, but as being the most appropriate response to the present situation. As the H-bomb is the symbol of all the forces of destruction, so ND has become the symbol of all the countering forces of creation: life against death, love against hate, form against chaos. A convenient simplification, maybe; but a necessary one, if the meaning of life is to be restored to the ordinary, bewildered human being.

As Gerald Holtom, designer of the ND device, has put it: "Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is such a mouthful. It's too long, and takes too much material, to keep repeating it on banners in a procession. And anyway a lot of people won't be able to read it." The same goes for most slogans since, for better or worse, we live in a visual age.

## Double advantage

Gerald Holtom's "shorthand" symbol has the double advantage of providing identity for the marcher and easy recognition for the onlooker. Its deeper meaning he explains as symbolising "the little man in despair," and, by the white emblem on a black ground, the triumph of good over evil. He would like to see it much more widely used. It could be displayed by motorists offering lifts and by householders offering hospitality along the route of a march. It could also serve as a passport to international fellowship in many countries.

What's wrong with the Cross as a symbol, it may be wondered? But the sad fact is that the meaning of the Cross has been so



overlaid by Church and State that it is not easily perceived. (Gerald Holtom suggests that perhaps a "Church veto" by Christians would be more effective than a "Voters' Veto.") It is therefore necessary to invent new symbols to explain the old truths.

It is here that the artist comes into his own, and here that he has an opportunity to break through the prison of his own consciousness and become one with his fellows. Gerald Holtom has described it as "the struggle for expression through technique," and he feels that the Aldermaston marches did achieve a synthesis of this kind. In his own work as an artist he has found a means of using his talents that is acceptable both to himself and to society by evolving a method of cloth appliqué work for stage curtains and other decorative hangings, in schools.

His designs are commissioned by the Ministry of Education, and can be seen in over 600 schools throughout the country. He selects his own themes, relating them

where possible to local history: Arkwright's jenny in Derbyshire, tin mines in Cornwall, mystery plays in Coventry. He has one assistant artist, now in the USA on a Commonwealth scholarship, and two girl machinists.

Why should Gerald Holtom, a busy and

A profile of Gerald  
Holtom the man  
who made the  
symbol



By MARGARET TIMS

successful artist, take three weeks off to make ND lollipops, as he did before the first Aldermaston March, and go himself on four-day marches? He regards it as a kind of compromise to hold a banner, let alone to make one! He signed the peace pledge in the 1930s and was a conscientious objector in the war, but he has not previously been active in the peace movement. But now the situation is so desperate, he believes, that the "vital things" in life must be publicly re-stated in a way that can be understood.

He feels strongly that the campaign, if it is not to lose the Aldermaston impetus, should now canalise and focus all its artistic talent in a great, dramatic appeal—perhaps in the form of a pageant or folk-opera, in which the general public can join. Such a large-scale, communal dedication to the things of peace could not be ignored by any government. There is no lack of talent or enthusiasm; it only needs to be organised. "And the time to plan for next Easter," says Gerald Holtom, "is now."

## Towards the new man and his surroundings

WILFRED WELLOCK'S ideas are too well known to the readers of this paper to require elaboration here. There must be very few, outside the out and out worshippers of the machine, who would disagree with his indictment of modern industrialism. And many would accept his view that a healthy society would include a decentralised system of small agro-industrial communities. Whatever differences are possible with regard to the details of such a system, its necessity for the full flowering of human personality is evident.

In these two pamphlets Mr. Wellock seeks to show the relevance of Gandhi's teaching and of Vinoba Bhave's Bhoodan movement to a decentralised economy. In the Gandhian "revolution" in India he sees one of the most promising signs for a future regeneration of mankind. Certainly, it cannot be denied that recent developments in land reform and village life in India and the direct and voluntary way in which they have been carried out are among the few hopeful things taking place in our power-crazy world. But Mr. Wellock mars his case by an almost completely uncritical approach to the Indian political scene and towards Gandhi and Bhave. He displays a dangerous tendency to confuse his dream with reality.

For example, he attributes the successful effects of the Bhoodan movement on the politicians and the landowners to its "spiritual" quality. No doubt the religious milieu peculiar to India played a considerable part in Bhave's achievements, but it is quite possible that one of the reasons for the praise lavished on his movement by

## Sidney Parker reviews

Gandhi as a Social Revolutionary and India's Social Revolution. By Wilfred Wellock. Published by the Author. 1s. each.

politicians is that they see in it a useful bulwark against the Communists. Similarly, a motive for some of the landowners' generosity could well be a fear of wholesale expropriation on the part of the peasants. These may appear to be rather unpleasant suspicions to entertain about a much-hailed "spiritual revolution," but I do not think they can be ignored.

Mr. Wellock's vision of India as the Promised Land leads him to take a somewhat superficial view of the Indian State. He writes, for instance, that India is a "non-power state." What exactly does he mean? The Indian State has an army, a navy and an air force; it has prisons, police and punishment. In fact, it has all the coercive instruments of power that other States have. Although an erstwhile pacifist, Dr. Rajendra Prasad is, as President, head of the armed forces. This has not prevented them being used against recalcitrant tribesmen and, I am quite sure, will not prevent them being used against any other movement which the Government may consider to be a fundamental threat to its existence.

Holding such a view of the Indian State, it is not surprising that Mr. Wellock believes that the one "weak spot" of the Bhoodan movement is its lack of "unity" with the "State Administrators." Yet he himself remarks that Bhoodan has "advanced by virtue of its inherent worth... manifested in the enthusiasm of an army of workers who were unbound by the red tape of authoritarian practice and government officialism." (My italics.)

If this is the case, it is surely better for the Bhoodan movement to guard its non-governmental character and its spontaneity by steering clear of entanglements with the State? If it united with the State there can be little doubt that the personal responsibility of those who compose it would tend towards becoming lost in the impersonality of the bureaucracy and its inner life would be sapped by centralisation. There is no proof that Indian politicians and civil servants are free from the corruptions of power and careerism that afflict their colleagues elsewhere.

These strictures should not prevent anyone who wants a brief exposition of the progress of the Bhoodan movement and of its Gandhian origins from reading these pamphlets. Nevertheless, they would have been much improved if their author had adopted a less laudatory attitude.

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## U.S. Quakers plan world affairs vacation institute

"THE Quaker Approach to Contemporary Affairs" is the theme of the seventh annual week-long vacation-institute sponsored by the Cambridge, Mass., and New York City offices of the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers). From August 1 to August 8, 1959, over 200 people from many parts of the north-eastern United States are expected to attend the institute at Geneva Point Camp, Winnepesaukee, New Hampshire.

Leaders in the fields of education, religion, race relations, international affairs and philosophy will guide daily small-group discussions and speak on their own experiences in these fields.

Dean of the Institute is Stephen G. Cary, Director of the American Section of AFSC, who edited a Quaker study of a non-violent American foreign policy, and, in 1955, visited the Soviet Union.

Leaders of the institute include: Henry Cadbury, Professor Emeritus, Harvard University, and Chairman of AFSC; Amiya Chakravarty, Professor of Comparative Oriental Religions, Boston University, and former associate of Tagore and Gandhi; Roy McCorkel, former director of CARE in India and Central Europe; Michael McMullan, staff member of the Ghana Ministry of Finance; Victor Paschke, founder of the Society for Social Responsibility in Science; Ira De A. Reid, Chairman of the Sociology Department, Haverford College, and former research director, National Urban League; Allyn and Adele Rickett, imprisoned in Communist China from 1951 to 1955; John Swomley Jr., Co-Secretary, Fellowship of Reconciliation, and writer and lecturer on militarism; Hilda von Klenze, staff member, British Peace Pledge Union, and editor of the Non-Violence Bulletin.

### Challenging experience

Russell Johnson, New England Peace Education Secretary, AFSC, has pointed out that: "While we believe that Quaker traditions may help many people sharpen their thinking about modern political and social problems, the summer institute is not a religious conference in the usual sense. The institute is open to, and in fact is meant for, people of all beliefs."

"Many families have found the institute to be an inexpensive vacation, as well as an intellectually and morally challenging experience."

Cost for adults is \$45 for the entire week (includes housing and meals). Special rates are available for couples, students and children.

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For detailed information write: "Winni" Institute, AFSC, 130 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A., or "Winni" Institute, AFSC, 237 Third Avenue, New York 3, N.Y.

## HALVED



I AM grateful that this Appeal can still appear though it must be reduced to half the usual number of words. But I hope that you will not halve your reply. You will see that the Peace Pledge Union HQ Fund has not been doing very well lately and is getting behind.

You can help to put that right and I am sure that you will. So I want twice as much this week from half the space.

STUART MORRIS,  
General Secretary.

Our aim: £1,250.  
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Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

# NYASALAND FACES NEW REPRESSION

THE Nyasaland Government's intention to amend the Penal Code and the Children and Young Persons Ordinance to make possible greater severity and repression has brought forth protests from the Africa Bureau which has issued the following statement:

Under the Penal Code it will become unlawful for anyone to carry anything or shout any slogan or make any sign indicating that he is a member of, or associated with, an unlawful society. An Inspector of Police will be able to enter, without warrant, any place in which he has reason to believe a meeting of any unlawful society is taking place, or any house in which he believes a member of such society resides or where he may find its documents or funds. He will be empowered to arrest all those he finds and to seize all property connected with the meeting or society.

Anyone convicted of rioting may in future be sentenced to up to five years' imprisonment instead of 2 years as under

present legislation. A member of the public will no longer be required to say that he was put in fear of a breach of the peace or of a riot; it will be sufficient if the conduct of any illegal assembly is such that people are likely to be frightened. (The Nyasaland African National Congress was declared illegal at the beginning of the emergency.)

The second Bill will enable a court to sentence any male child (7 years or over) or male young persons to corporal punishment (up to six strokes or 12 strokes respectively) for any offence under the Children and Young Persons Ordinance.

The Africa Bureau Executive has protested against these Bills, but understands that the Secretary of State for the Colonies does not intend to use his powers of disallowance in respect to either, although certain provisions made in the latter ordinance may be amended.

The Africa Bureau is also dismayed to read statements in extracts from the Nyasaland Information Bulletin (May 6, 1959)

that Congress leaders would be remaining in prison for as long as the Government considered necessary—"whether they are charged with criminal offences or not." The Bulletin also asked: "Do you know of any member of Congress who has not yet been arrested? If you do, you must tell the Boma (the District Officer's Office) so that these wicked people can be arrested. . . . You can either report personally to a Government Officer or, if you prefer to remain anonymous, send an unsigned letter. . . . (There is no need to stamp the letter)." It stated that Congress was "at an end."

The Africa Bureau draws the attention of MPs and the British people to these drastic and distasteful measures being enacted in their name. It believes it to be reprehensible in the existing situation of loss of confidence between the Government and the governed in Nyasaland that laws which are clearly designed to intimidate should be introduced, especially since the Devlin Commission which was appointed to examine the background to Nyasaland's recent disturbances has not yet reported.

## Gandhi Peace Fund to start non-violence research centre

THE governing council of the Gandhi Peace Fund which was founded by the Gandhi National Memorial Fund to study the use of non-violent methods in solving national and international conflicts is to consider a proposal to build a headquarters for the Gandhi Peace Foundation.

The proposal that the building be constructed near Gandhi's tomb at Rajghat in Delhi will be discussed on July 6.

Mr. Ramachandra, secretary of the Gandhi Peace Foundation, said in an interview with "India News" that those responsible for conceiving the idea of a peace foundation believed that Gandhi initiated a revolution in the life of humanity based on truth, non-violence and strict regard for the means used to achieve worthwhile ends. The task of the Gandhi Peace Fund would be to systematise Gandhi's ideas and methods of work and unfold their rhythm by careful study of his life and works consisting of his writings and speeches.

The Gandhi National Memorial Fund has earmarked a sum of £750,000 for establishing the Gandhi Peace Fund.

Members of the governing council of the Gandhi Peace Fund include President Rajendra Prasad, Prime Minister Nehru, Vice-Presidents Radhakrishnan and Acharya J. B. Kripalani.

A five-point programme has been laid down for the Gandhi Peace Fund in its constitution published recently.

The programme includes the establishment of an international centre of study and research in the principles of non-violence as

evident in the history and philosophy of India, and the study of techniques for application of non-violence in social, national and international affairs.

It is also to provide information, counsel and assistance in this field to teaching institutions in the form of research fellowships, travel grants, library books and equipment, and assist in developing an informed public opinion on the principles and techniques of non-violence among all people.

The constitution provides for the setting up of a council for study and research for guiding Fellows and other students in Gandhian thought, ideas and action. The council will consist of outstanding thinkers and other persons selected for the purpose.

## To be tried for exposing militarism

LUISE EISENMENGER-MICKO, Viennese poet, vegetarian, anarchist, journalist, and above all, anti-militarist, has finally gained a form of recognition from the Austrian Government for her many-sided efforts to "rid Austria of militarism."

On June 5 Mrs. Eisenmenger, whose husband was killed in the war, received notice that she would be brought to trial in Vienna on June 18 for defaming the good name of the Austrian army. The Ministry of Justice is basing its case on an article entitled "Militarism Exposed," which appeared in No. 16 of "Die Antimilitarist," edited and, for the most part, written by Mrs. Eisenmenger.

In her article the army is accused of corrupting and brutalising recruits. Referring to earlier complaints against the army made by a trade union youth organisation, Mrs. Eisenmenger said there was "every reason to doubt" that improvements promised at that time were carried out.

Medical treatment was severely criticised. The mother of a soldier was quoted as saying that an army doctor had declared her son physically fit three days before he died of leukaemia.

"Even death seems preferable to further service in the army" for some young men, declared Mrs. Eisenmenger. "In 1958 there were ten cases of suicide."

Mrs. Eisenmenger's attorney is asking for a postponement of the trial in order to prepare his defence. Mrs. Eisenmenger, who is Secretary of the Austrian Section of the War Resisters' International, has received support from International Headquarters at Enfield, England.

In a letter to the Austrian Ambassador in London the WRI has asked that the "international repercussions of suppressing criticism" of the military be considered by the Austrian Government.

## Quaker plans for rocket base action

A QUAKER Meeting for Worship will be held before the march leaves Brighton rocket base for Selby in the Yorkshire demonstration on July 5. Arrangements for this are being made by the Northern Friends Peace Board, Station Road, Ackworth, Pontefract.

Several other groups intend holding open-air religious services.

The Board has a supply of posters suitable for use on the march which is being organised by the Yorkshire regional committee of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

## PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Pacifist Universalist Service

3.30 p.m., SUNDAY, June 28

FRIENDS INTERNATIONAL CENTRE

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Discourse, by Antony Bates

"SEVEN VEILS THAT HIDE TRUTH"



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## Talk with taxis exploded missile

A WOMAN talking to a fleet of taxis on a short-wave radio unintentionally caused an American missile to explode prematurely. The accident took place in space after a launching from Cape Canaveral, and as far as is known caused no damage.

The pitch of the woman's voice speaking from a taxi office in San Diego, California, was the same as a radio code message which is used to explode the missile in emergency.

This occurrence was related to a secret meeting of scientists at the United Nations at New York according to a report in the Manchester Guardian recently.

The sources indicated that there was a risk of radio transmitters ruining space experiments either by cutting off signals or by exploding missiles too soon.

## Briefly

A new publication, "National Service: A Guide for the Conscientious Objector," is available from the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, 6, Endsleigh Street London, W.C.1, price 4d.

The use of handcuffs on COs in Scotland has resulted in representations to the Under-Secretary by the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors.

Canada's Deputy Minister of Health, Dr. Cameron, recently told a deputation led by Peace News reader Edith Holtom that the present level of Strontium 90 in milk was not dangerous, but that the future was unknown. The Ministry are to issue a report on radiation dangers. Any Canadian can write in for a copy.

Improved facilities for finding the levels of radio-activity in British Food which result from world fall-out will be brought into use next year by the Agricultural Research Council at the Letcombe Manor Estate near Wantage in Berkshire.

Colin W. Bell, who has given leadership to Quaker projects on three continents, recently became executive secretary of the American Friends Service Committee.

## Quote

Like other evils, war has an insidious way of appearing not intolerable until it has secured such a stranglehold upon the lives of its addicts that they no longer have the power to escape from its grip when its deadliness has become manifest.—Arnold Toynbee.

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# CASTING THE WHOLE VOTE

In 1956 the American monthly Liberation published a long editorial on its attitude to the 1956 Presidential election. We reprint a part of it below as a contribution to the debate on how pacifists can make their views politically effective.

WE cast our vote by a deliberate refusal to vote in the Presidential election; by publicising this fact and the reason therefor; and by concentrating attention on the more relevant and basic forms of action in which people may engage every day in the year.

This is to us the most effective way to protest against the unreality, frustration and danger of the major party set-up and its inability to deal effectively with today's problems.

To us it is the clearest way to underline the inadequacy of the present splinter minority groups, and the need of a new alignment.

It is the best way we know to call attention to our profound conviction that it is imperative that people should see political action, in the narrower sense of that term, in perspective, and should devote their major energies to other forms of action without which political action is bound to be superficial and ultimately dangerous.

## Direct action

In 1917, it has often been said, the Russian soldiers "voted" with their feet, i.e., they left their places in the Russian armies at the front and walked home. That finished the great Russian military Establishment. It and similar action put an end to Czarism.

In subsequent years the Indian masses under Gandhian leadership organised great campaigns of non-violent non-co-operation with British imperialist rule. This direct action by the Indian masses was certainly not the only factor in the ending of British rule in that subcontinent, but none will question that it was a great and decisive one.

In this country (the USA) in the late 'thirties and the 'forties there was a great upsurge of the workers in the unorganised basic industries. Some New Deal measures played a part in the enlargement and strengthening of the union forces in that period. But again the decisive factor was that men, individually and in the mass, revolted against a situation in which they had no voice over their livelihood and the conditions of their work. They engaged in tremendous struggles to bring about a new situation.

## Boycotting evil

The extent to which the gains of that period of direct struggle are maintained or extended depends mainly upon the attitude and activity of the men in the shops and mines: there they "vote" every working day in a more significant way than once in four years in a Presidential election.

The point is vividly illustrated by the fact that the whole country, and to a great extent people everywhere, were electrified when last December the 45,000 Negroes of Montgomery, Alabama, stopped riding Jim Crow (colour bar) buses, a "protest" which they resolutely maintain until this day.

Once again men stood up straight and acted in the situation in which they found themselves, against the evil which for long they had accepted as in the nature of things, but which had actually been sustained by their own fear, subservience and inaction.

Already this has begun to transform the South.\* Without "voting" of this kind the

\*We emphasise once again that these words were written in 1956—[Ed., PN.]

Supreme Court decision on public school integration would never have been made and would not be carried out. The political question on which the destiny of the South and to a large extent the whole country now hinges is whether the labour movement will firmly support struggles such as that at Montgomery and whether it will carry out a large-scale, vigorous organising campaign to bring Negro and white workers in the South into genuinely democratic, non-segregated unions.

## Men need not wait

Just to the extent that this happens, segregation will be abolished and the way opened to more fundamental changes in the economic and social structure of the country, including the unions themselves. The possibility will emerge that workers, farmers, white collar workers, teachers and other professional people—North and South, white and Negro—may build a political instrument that will help break down special privilege, entrenched and centralised politico-economic power, and militarism.

We call for such organised action against war and militarism; against racial discrimination; against colonialism in all its forms; against economic and other forms of exploitation. It is thus, as Thoreau reminded us more than a century ago, that men cast a "whole vote, not a strip of paper merely" and that minorities become powerful be-

cause they no longer conform to the majority but clog by their whole weight.

Moreover, men need not wait for the establishment of national parties or international movements to join in such activity. In any city or town there are instances of oppression, hardship or deficiency, relating to housing, to school conditions, to hospital services for the underprivileged, to treatment of minority groups in churches or elsewhere in the locality, about which citizens can "vote" by taking action any day of the year. Wherever they are, men and women can pioneer in new forms of economic relationships, such as co-operative workshops and communities.

It is not necessary that any of us should wait to be creative and to act responsibly until a few others are ready to join us. On the personal level we can take action on questions of race, war, conformism, the way we earn our keep, spend our money, raise our children, and treat our neighbours. Such actions strike at the social and cultural roots which underlie political life. Thus individuals and small groups can fashion new patterns of life at the most fundamental level. The most profound and lasting changes cannot be imposed from the top down. We cannot legislate people into being more responsible individually, and less servile and conformist. But each of us can begin to act more independently and responsibly now.

# THE BRIDGE OF PEACE

By Sybil Morrison

And she said: 'Over that bridge which shall be built with our bodies who will pass?' He said: 'The entire human race.' And the woman grasped her staff. And I saw her turn down that dark path to the river.

—"Dreams," by Olive Schreiner.

THE Dream from which I have taken my quotation tells of a woman setting out in search of freedom. She meets an old man named Reason, and as, in her exhaustion, she moans: "For what do I go to this far land which no one has ever reached?" Oh, I am alone! I am utterly alone!" he interrupts her and demands silence.

"What do you hear?" he asks.

"I hear a sound of feet, a thousand times ten thousand and thousands of thousands, and they beat this way!"

He said: "They are the feet of those that shall follow you. Lead on! Make a track to the water's edge. Where you stand now the ground will be beaten flat by ten thousand times ten thousand feet." And he asks her whether she has ever seen how locusts cross a stream. "First one comes to the edge," he says, "and it is swept away, and then another comes and then another, and then another, and at last with their bodies piled up a bridge is built and the rest pass over."

"And of those that come first," she wants to know, "some are swept away and are heard of no more; their bodies do not even build the bridge." And the old man replies: "They make a track to the water's edge."

★

And so, as my quotation shows, the woman took up her staff and moved towards the path on which she might some day help to make the track to the water's edge.

In all the history of the sacrifices of men and women to secure freedom and peace, this allegory has its place. The strong sense of urgency, especially today, that lies at the heart of crusades and campaigns for peace, tends to repudiate the idea that there is time to build a bridge between a world committed to total war,

and a new world committed to total peace; and yet there is no other way to reach the "promised land."

It is a fact of history that this bridge has been in process of construction for many years; those who have made "a track to the water's edge" and given their lives to make it, are utterly betrayed if workers for peace now seek to find another way, crying out in panic: "There is no time."

★

There is always time to do what is right and what must be done; belief in time is a fundamental part of the faith and the fortitude which is needed to build the bridge, and without that faith the great march to peace will fail and those following behind will fall by the wayside.

Already the feet of those oncoming thousands is sounding, and if our ears are tuned to hear them, courage will come into our hearts to sustain and support us, however dark the path.

It is not possible, perhaps, to know the ultimate achievement, though in the days to come, those who follow us to the bridge and find it ready, will pass over radiant in the knowledge of life which has been willingly given them by the sacrifice and steadiness of their fellow human beings.

Because those who are the living bridge cannot necessarily see to the other side, does not mean that it is not near for those who are crossing over. It may well be nearer than seems possible in these dark days, but one thing is certain: "the entire human race" may depend upon the ungrudging unity of pacifist effort. We can make the bridge, and we dare not fail.

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## THE PRINTING DISPUTE

Peace News has obtained Union consent to continuing publication under restricting circumstances during the national stoppage of work in the printing industry. This week's issue went to press on June 17; this insertion was duplicated on June 22. From next week until the dispute ends we hope to publish a four-page printed edition, going to press several days earlier than usual. Voluntary helpers (see page one) are still needed, but it will N O T now be necessary to keep the offices open after 6 pm on Tuesday and Thursday evenings. Meanwhile here are some recent news and comments.

## THE GENEVA CONFERENCE

The four Foreign Ministers last Friday adjourned their conference after forty days until July 13. Interim agreement on Berlin has still not been reached; and the more hesitant or blatantly hostile among Western Heads of States have not been persuaded that a "Summit" meeting is desirable. It is, moreover, hard to see why the Foreign Ministers should make better progress in July than they have so far. These conferences will remain unrealistic as long as they continue to be based on threats - and it is always threats which are behind the manoeuvres of Great Powers. It is a pity, therefore, that people should continue to place such indiscriminating hope in them. The pacifist claims that a genuine will to achieve real solutions will only be demonstrated by unilateral action - by doing the right thing oneself, and not trying to bully the other fellow into doing it. Today it is clearer than ever that this is practical politics.

## A NON-NUCLEAR CLUB?

The real issue is whether this club would be formed by Britain negotiating with the potential Bomb manufacturers (i.e. by Britain using her Bomb as a bargaining counter), or by Britain renouncing nuclear weapons and simply inviting other nations to do so. Since other Governments, especially France, would refuse to join, the first alternative is not possible; but the second would release great popular pressure abroad which could check nuclear war programmes. It is highly encouraging that many leaders of the movement in Britain have made it quite clear that they will not accept a policy which, being unworkable, would be a hypocritical and worthless gesture to British campaigners for nuclear disarmament. We shall report fully later.

## ROCKET BASE CAMPAIGNS

Civil disobedience was undertaken at Great Dalby, Leicestershire, rocket site on June 18. Ten members of several Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament groups with Pat Arrowsmith of the Direct Action Committee were removed by Air Ministry police - while attempting to pitch tents on the site. Programme of the Northants-Leicestershire rocket site campaign for June 27 - 28: 11 a.m. at Rothwell (nr. Kettering) market place for leafleting and canvassing. Yorkshire rocket sites campaign: help wanted on Sunday June 28. Phone Ron Taylor: Leeds 661583.

## FENNER BROCKWAY, MP, WRITES:

I understand that the Labour Party has called off talks with the Government regarding a joint commission to reach a united policy for Central Africa. Sir Roy Welensky had proposed that the Federal Government should participate in the Commission. The Labour Party concluded that the differences between the two sides are too deep to make any compromise possible. The Party is certainly unprepared to enter a political truce about Central Africa which would remove the issue from political controversy during the General Election. Recent events have influenced Labour's decision. In the background is the uneasiness about what has happened in Nyasaland, the arrests without trial in the Rhodesias, and the Fascist-like legislation against the African people in Southern Rhodesia. Then came the shocking tragedy of the eleven African deaths in the Hola Camp in Kenya and the failure of the Government to realise its responsibility for what happened. Finally there has been the exclusion from Nyasaland of a Christian missionary because he has shown too much sympathy with the aspirations of the African people.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

### ACCOMMODATION

Visitors/permanent guests. Shayler, 27 Hamilton Pk., N.4. CAN.1340

### HOLIDAY ACCOMMODATION

Vegn.Guest Ho. Rothay Bank, Grasmere, Westmorland. James, tel: Grasmere 334  
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PN Readers welcome. Gt.Frenches Pk., Crawley Down, Sx. Rev.A.Peacock.  
Holiday Flatlets. Westgate-on-Sea, Kent. S.A.E., Arnaldi, 258 Scot Ellis  
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### PERSONAL

Songs from Aldermaston. 1s.9d. Broadsheet King, 15 Mortimer Tce., N.W.5.

International Travel. Objectors to vaccination. Inform. National Anti-  
Vaccination League, 2nd.Fl., 26/28 Warwick Way, S.W.1.

World Friendship Bureau. Pen friendships. S.A.E., Room 19, 80/86 St.Johns  
Road, S.W.11.

### LITERATURE

Quakerism. Inform. Friends Home Service Cttee., Friends Ho., Euston Rd.N.W.1

### FOR SALE

Extension Ladders. Price list. A.Roberts, 12 Clare Rd., Cardiff.

### TRAVEL

Microbus trip to Tyrol Oct 4 - 18, 65gns. Details - Reculver Lodge,  
Beltinge, Herne Bay, Kent. Herne Bay 750.

\* \* \* \* \*

### DIARY

SAT JUNE 27 HALIFAX 2.30-8pm Friends Mtg.Ho., Clare St."Racial Justice &  
Future of Africa". FoR. LEEDS, 2 7pm Friends Mtg.Ho., Carlton Hill.  
Filmshow. CND. LONDON N.10 2.30pm Friends Mtg.Ho., Church Cres.,Gdn.  
Party. War on Want. RUGBY From 9.30am Church St.Mkt.Peace Book Stall  
PPU.

SUN JUNE 28 COULSDON 3pm 87 Chaldon Way."Pacifism & Direct Action". PPU.

LONDON S.E.6 8pm St.Dunstan's Hall, Brookehowse Rd. Films. APF.

LONDON W.C.1 3.30pm 32 Tavistock Sq."Seven Veils that Hide Truth".

MON JUNE 29 CROYDON 8pm St.Matthews Hall. Filmshow. CND.

TUE JUNE 30 LONDON W.C.1. 6.30pm.6 Endsleigh St. PPU. STEVENAGE 8pm  
54 Sish Ln. Disc.CND Sept.Campaign.

TUE JUNE 30 - WED JULY 1 LONDON W.1. Midnight for 36hrs U.S.Embassy. Support  
Omaha. PYAG.

WED JULY 1 LONDON N.W.11 7.45pm 23 Russell Gdns. New Group. PPU.

LONDON W.3 7.30pm E.Acton Co-op Hall, Western Av. Aldermaston Film. CND

THUR JULY 2 LONDON E.11 8pm Friends Mtg.Ho., Bush Rd."Love, or what is  
an H-Bomb?". PPU.

FRI JULY 3 BIRMINGHAM 7.30pm Meth.Church Hall, Newman Rd, High St.,  
Erdington."The Bomb". CND. TWICKENHAM 8pm Kings Head."The Church  
and the Bomb". CND.

SAT JULY 4 BIRMINGHAM 2.30pm Institutional Ch., Pound Rd., Warley. Gdn.

Party. PPU. IPSWICH 1.30pm-9pm Christchurch Pk.(gates) leaflet distr.

CND. BRADFORD 2.30pm Hall Ings Car Pk. Poster Pde & Open-air Mtg.CND.

HASTINGS 2.45pm Timbers Dell, Crowhurst Ln., Battle. Gdn.Mtg. PPU.

LONDON S.E.21 4pm 51 Alleyn Pk. Gdn.Party. CND. LONDON W.4 3pm Turnham

Green. Open-air mtg. CND. BREIGHTON Vigil 8am till noon Sun. CND.

\* \* \* \* \*

**MARCH FOR LIFE** Because of the reduced size of PN we are unable  
to publish any correspondence - including a  
letter complaining that we have not mentioned the "March for Life"  
which the British Peace Committee has organised for Sunday. We  
have received several letters from the BPC and its supporters ask-  
ing for help in the organisation and publicising of the March, but  
decided not to publish them as a matter of policy. We are unhappy  
about B.P.C.'s policy and the way that it slides over certain very  
important facts about the international situation - particularly  
in relation to Soviet foreign policy. We hope, however, to carry  
on July 10 a report of the March, and some fuller comment on our  
attitude to it.